

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 158513 TOSEC 050139

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), TU

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE ON THE
TURKISH AID EMBARGO (S/S: 7513406)

REF: STATE 156819 (TOSEC 50112)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN

1. THE PROBLEM.

WE NEED YOUR APPROVAL ON THE TEXT OF A PRESIDENTIAL
MESSAGE ON THE TURKISH AID EMBARGO. THE DRAFT THAT
FOLLOWS HAS BEEN ALTERED TO REFLECT YOUR COMMENTS ON OUR
ORIGINAL DRAFT.

2. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE ATTACHED DRAFT FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE
PRESIDENT.

APPROVE -- DISAPPROVE

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3. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE:

I WISH TO SHARE WITH YOU MY CONCERN ABOUT A COMPLEX FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEM--THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, THE THREAT TO OUR NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS, THE PLIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS AND THE

ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES. BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH SHARE A RESPONSIBILITY TO RE-EXAMINE THIS CRITICAL SITUATION WITH CARE. THIS IS NOT A PARTISAN MATTER OR ONE WHERE THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF A DECADES-OLD DISPUTE CAN EASILY BE JUDGED--PARTICULARLY BY OUTSIDERS. OUR OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO HELP IN THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF A PROBLEM THAT INVOLVES TWO VALUED ALLIES AND A PEOPLE WHOSE HISTORY AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION HAS BEEN RIVEN BY STRIFE.

I HAVE SPENT MUCH TIME STUDYING THESE ISSUES AND HAVE TALKED IN BRUSSELS TO THE LEADERS OF TURKEY AND GREECE. ON THE BASIS OF MY STUDY, I AM CONVINCED THAT US AND WESTERN SECURITY INTERESTS REQUIRE THE URGENT PASSAGE BY THE HOUSE OF LEGISLATION ENABLING THE RESUMPTION OF OUR LONG-STANDING SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY. THE SENATE HAS ALREADY ACTED FAVORABLY ON A BILL TO ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE.

CURRENT LEGISLATION PASSED BY CONGRESS LAST DECEMBER 18, WITH AN EFFECTIVE DATE OF FEBRUARY 5, 1975, HAS BEEN IN FORCE FOR NEARLY FIVE MONTHS. THIS ACTION HAS: (1) CALLED INTO QUESTION THE ABILITY OF AN ALLY TO CONTINUE TO FULFILL ITS ESSENTIAL NATO RESPONSIBILITIES, THUS UNDERMINING NATO'S STRENGTH IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN; (2) JEOPARDIZED VITAL COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS WHICH TURKEY AND THE US JOINTLY MAINTAIN; AND (3) REDUCED AMERICAN INFLUENCE TO MOVE THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A PEACEFUL CONCLUSION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES.

THE LEGISLATION VOTED AGAINST TURKEY LAST DECEMBER IS SWEEPING IN ITS EFFECT. IT PROVIDES FOR WHAT AMOUNTS TO A TOTAL EMBARGO, PROHIBITING GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE, CONFIDENTIAL

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CASH AND CREDIT SALES OF DEFENSE ITEMS BY THE US GOVERNMENT, AND THE ISSUANCE OF LICENSES TO PERMIT THE TRANSPORTATION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT PURCHASED FROM US FIRMS. PRACTICALLY ALL NATIONS OF THE WORLD CAN PURCHASE IN THE US AT LEAST SOME ITEMS THAT ARE FORBIDDEN TO TURKEY. IT IS NOW IMPOSSIBLE FOR TURKEY TO PROCURE MOST ITEMS PRODUCED IN THIRD COUNTRIES UNDER US LICENSE; NOR CAN TURKEY EVEN TAKE POSSESSION OF MERCHANDISE IN THE US

WHICH IT PAID FOR PRIOR TO FEBRUARY 5 AND WHICH IS NOW READY FOR SHIPMENT. THE RESULT IS THAT A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE WITH THIS IMPORTANT NATO ALLY, BUILT UP OVER MANY YEARS, HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY ERODED. CONTINUATION OF THE EMBARGO RISKS FURTHER DETERIORATION THAT IS JEOPARDIZING OUR SECURITY INTERESTS THROUGHOUT THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS IT IS MY STRONG VIEW THAT WE AND THE CONGRESS MUST JOIN IN LEGISLATIVE ACTION THAT WILL RESCIND THE EMBARGO. THE FORM THAT LEGISLATION SHOULD TAKE TO ACHIEVE THIS END IS FOR CONGRESS ITSELF TO DECIDE. BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT ONLY LEGISLATION CAN PRODUCE THE ACTIONS WHICH ARE NECESSARY IN THIS CASE.

I KNOW THAT IN THE MINDS OF MANY IN THE CONGRESS THERE REMAINS THE ISSUE OF HOW US SUPPLIED ARMS WERE USED LAST SUMMER. BUT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IS ONE WHERE NEITHER MORAL NOR LEGAL JUDGMENTS, ON THE ARMS ISSUE OR ANY OTHER, CAN BE EASILY OR LIGHTLY MADE. YET THE EFFECT OF THE EMBARGO IS TO ASCRIBE BLAME TOTALLY TO ONE OF THE PARTIES IN A DISPUTE THAT HAS ITS ROOTS IN CENTURIES OF ANIMOSITY AND FOR WHICH BOTH SIDES MUST SHARE SOME RESPONSIBILITY.

WHERE WE CAN ALL AGREE, AND WHERE I BELIEVE WE MUST ALL ACT TOGETHER, IS IN OUR SENSE OF ANXIETY AND CONCERN OVER THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND IN A CONSENSUS THAT THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE WHAT WE ALL SEEK, A JUST AND BROADLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT, IS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH WE MAINTAIN MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY WITH ALL THE PARTIES. UNLESS SOME PROGRESS IS MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THE HUMANITARIAN PLIGHT FACING THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS, INCLUDING

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PARTICULARLY THE REFUGEE PROBLEM, CANNOT BE SOLVED.

THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK, AS IT HAS DONE CONTINUOUSLY SINCE LAST JULY, AS HARD AND AS DETERMINEDLY AS POSSIBLE TO MOVE THE PARTIES OF THE CYPRUS CONFLICT TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. RECENT US DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN ANKARA, ATHENS AND BRUSSELS HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE START OF A GREEK-TURKISH DIALOGUE WHICH HAS DEFUSED THE TENSE SITUATION AND HOPEFULLY LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR GREEK-TURKISH COOPERATION.

AS WE PURSUE OUR EFFORTS, WE SHALL CONSCIENTIOUSLY MAINTAIN AN EVENHANDED APPROACH TOWARD THE PARTIES INVOLVED. WE WANT THE CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP OF BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY, AND OUR SYMPATHY AND CONCERN EXTEND TO ALL THE

PEOPLE OF CYPRUS. WE WANT AN END TO HUMAN SUFFERING AND MISERY, AND THE REBUILDING OF AN ISLAND WHERE ALL CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM AND SECURITY.

AT PRESENT, OUR ABILITY TO URGE THIS VIEW PERSUASIVELY IS COMPROMISED BY THE EROSION OF OUR INFLUENCE. I ASK THE CONGRESS' COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE, THEREFORE, IN ENACTING LEGISLATION WHICH WILL ASSURE THAT US INFLUENCE IS NOT FURTHER ATTENUATED AT THIS TIME OF CRITICAL CONCERN

IN CYPRUS AND THROUGHOUT THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. END OF TEXT. SISCO

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